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2467th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 16 August 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2467)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 2 August 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15902)

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 2 August 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15902)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In conformity with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2462nd, 2463rd and 2465th meetings], I invite the representatives of Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Benin, Egypt, Guinea, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, the Niger, Senegal, the Sudan and the United Republic of Cameroon to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Barma (Chad) and Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table; Mr. Soglo (Benin), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Kaba (Guinea), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Essy (Ivory Coast), Mr. Okeyo (Kenya), Mr. Kofa (Liberia), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Sylla (Senegal), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan) and Mr. Towo Atangana (United Republic of Cameroon) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in

which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Madar (Somalia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Sir, first of all I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Your well-known diplomatic qualities and your experience, as well as your personal knowledge of developments in the area under consideration, will no doubt greatly facilitate our efforts to find fair and realistic solutions to the concerns of the people of Chad.

4. I should also like through you, Sir, to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Ling Qing of China, for the most exemplary and dignified manner in which he directed the work of the Council in July.

5. Also, since this is the first time I have addressed the Council in a formal meeting this month, I should like to take this opportunity, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Zimbabwe delegation, to welcome to New York and to the Security Council Mr. van der Stoep, the new representative of the Netherlands. My delegation is happy to observe that the excellent working relationships which existed between our two Missions during his worthy predecessor's time at the United Nations continue to grow to the mutual benefit of our two countries and peoples.

6. The Council is once again meeting at the request of the Government of Chad. It will be recalled that previous meetings [2419th and 2428th to 2430 meetings] in March this year had been occasioned by Chad's request that the Council meet to consider

"the extremely serious situation prevailing in Chad as a result of the occupation of a part of Chad territory by Libya and of repeated acts of aggression by that country against the people of Chad" [S/15643].

7. It will be recalled also that, in addressing the Council on 31 March [2428th meeting], the Zimbabwe delegation expressed Zimbabwe's deep regret that a dispute should

exist between Chad and Libya—two countries which are so linked by geography and history that they have a common destiny. We pointed out then, as did other African and non-aligned delegations, that our concern was all the greater because the two countries were cherished members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—the two organizations that are so vital to the solidarity and survival of the peoples of the third world.

8. Our regrets and concerns are growing even deeper because not only are the unhappy relations between Chad and Libya persisting, but the situation in the area is also dangerously escalating, mainly as a result of the increasing involvement of external factors and forces in the area. In our view, this external involvement not only undermines any possibility of national reconciliation in Chad itself but is also bound to frustrate, and even militate against, efforts by the OAU to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two countries.

9. As Sir John Thomson has already reminded us, the statement by the President of the Security Council in April—having expressed the Council's concern that the differences between Chad and Libya should not escalate and endanger regional peace and security, and having also called on the two parties to settle their differences peacefully and without undue delay—concluded with an appeal to Chad and Libya

“to make fullest use of the mechanism available within the regional organization for the peaceful settlements of disputes, including the Good Offices Committee established by the Organization of African Unity and of those provided in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations” [see S/15688].

10. It seems to our delegation that this appeal continues to be just as valid and relevant, if not more so. It should be addressed to the parties concerned with the utmost urgency and clarity which this new situation demands. Our delegation notes with encouragement and great appreciation that the OAU, having successfully overcome its temporary difficulties, as was clearly testified to by the successful holding of its nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Addis Ababa in June, took immediate steps to bring understanding and peace between Chad and Libya. The OAU initiative in this matter was first demonstrated by the meeting of the Bureau of the nineteenth session of the Assembly, held on 15 and 16 July at Addis Ababa. It will be recalled that the Bureau, of which my own country is an active member, appealed to the two parties to end hostilities immediately. It also appealed to all other countries contemplating interference and intervention in Chad to refrain from such action. As we all know, even as this Council is meeting now, regional efforts under the aegis of the OAU are intensifying. We are convinced, therefore, that the best course of action open to the Council in these circumstances is to throw all its weight and influence behind the intensified initiatives of the OAU. In so doing, the Council must also deplore and reject any external

intervention and interference in support of any of the internal factions in Chad.

11. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): For the second time this year the Council is being called upon to discuss the question of Chad and, more specifically, the continuing crisis in relations between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Our debate this spring [2419th and 2428th to 2430th meetings] ended with the Council authorizing its President on 6 April to issue a statement, *inter alia*, calling on the parties to settle their differences without undue delay and by peaceful means, on the basis of the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which demand respect for political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The statement continued as follows:

“In this connection the members of the Council have taken note with appreciation of the willingness expressed by both parties to discuss their differences and to resolve them peacefully and urge both sides to refrain from any actions which could aggravate the current situation” [see S/15688].

12. Four months have passed since that statement was issued. The hope that parties would succeed in settling their differences has proved to be unfounded. On the contrary, the situation has dramatically worsened. War is raging in Chad, claiming many innocent victims amongst the civilian population. We are now faced with what amounts to a full-scale foreign armed intervention in the internal affairs of Chad. In spite of the denial by the representative of Libya, there is overwhelming evidence that Libyan tank units have penetrated deeply into Chad territory, and that the Libyan air force has repeatedly carried out bombing raids, especially on the town of Faya-Largeau. By acting in this way, Libya is clearly violating its obligations as a State Member of the United Nations, especially its obligation to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity of another State.

13. The representative of Libya claims that Mr. Goukouni Weddey heads the legitimate Government of Chad. I shall be brief on this subject. The Netherlands Government recognizes the Government of Chad headed by its President Hissein Habré, whose representative is now rightfully taking part in the deliberations of the Council, as he did in April of this year, when the Council last debated the complaint of his country against Libya. The legitimacy of the Government of President Habré has also been confirmed at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa last June. It is also clear that the presidential statement of 6 April, in calling for a dialogue between parties to settle their differences, was referring to a dialogue between Libya and the Government of Mr. Habré. Finally, even if the Government of Libya rejects the legitimacy of the Habré Government, that does not justify its unprovoked armed intervention in the affairs of Chad.

14. In his letter of 3 August [S/15906], the representative of Libya speaks of the “direct intervention of . . . the

United States and France in the affairs of Chad". A number of representatives, and notably the representative of the Soviet Union, have spoken along similar lines. However, this presentation of the facts is deliberately misleading and obscures the picture. On the one hand, there is the provision, at the request of its legitimate Government, of military assistance to a country acting in self-defense. On the other hand, we witness an instance of armed intervention in the affairs of a neighbouring State, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations. This distinction must be maintained.

15. My Government is shocked by the human suffering in Chad. There ought to be an immediate end to the fighting. Chad's sovereignty over its territory must be fully restored. Chad must be free to direct its efforts towards internal consolidation and economic development and reconstruction. Any continued foreign armed intervention against the Government of Chad is likely to aggravate further the conflict in that country. The dispute between Chad and Libya should be solved by negotiations and not by force. Negotiations could be renewed within the context of the OAU, in conformity with the resolution¹ which was adopted by the Heads of States and Government of the OAU during its nineteenth session of the Assembly, held at Addis Ababa in June, inviting Chad and Libya to seek a negotiated solution to their differences within the context of the *Ad Hoc* Mediation Committee established by the OAU. We earnestly hope that all parties will show the required restraint to solve the present crisis along lines which are compatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

16. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The people of Chad have not been able to live in a peaceful and stable environment long since the attainment of independence. In the past year the Government of Chad has been making extensive efforts to restore domestic peace and heal the war-torn country. However, tensions have now erupted again, plunging the tormented population into new miseries. The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned about this development and expresses profound sympathy for the tribulations of the Chad people.

17. The grave situation in Chad has been further complicated as a result of super-Power meddling. We always hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad should be respected, the internal affairs of that country should be left to the Chad people themselves and all outside intervention should stop.

18. In its resolution,¹ the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held last June at Addis Ababa, called on the two parties to the dispute to refrain from any action likely to worsen further the existing situation. Recently, the OAU again appealed for an immediate cessation of outside intervention and called for an immediate ceasefire between the two conflicting parties so as to achieve a just and enduring peace on the basis of national reconciliation. We appreciate and support the positive efforts of the OAU to bring peace to Chad. It is our hope that all

parties concerned will respond to the appeal of the OAU and that the two parties to the dispute, in particular, will seek a fair and reasonable settlement within the framework of the OAU through friendly consultation and dialogue on the basis of the principle of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity without super-Power interference or sabotage.

19. The Chinese delegation sincerely wishes to see an early return of peace to Chad so that the Chad people can recuperate and rehabilitate their country while consolidating their hard-won independence.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Somalia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. MADAR (Somalia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first of all, Sir, on behalf of my delegation to convey to you our cordial congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for August. My delegation is quite convinced that the work of the Council will be crowned with success, thanks to your far-reaching knowledge and experience in international affairs and great political experience.

22. I take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of China, on the competent and wise manner in which he conducted the Council's deliberations at its recent meetings.

23. I shall now make a statement on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic in respect of the matter of Chad.

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic has learned with astonishment of the wanton attacks by land and by air carried out by the forces of the Qaddafi régime against the northern Chad town of Faya-Largeau and its forcible occupation. It will be recalled that the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic in the past repeatedly warned the international community of Colonel Qaddafi's policies of expansionism and destabilization of the African continent. The events which are now unfolding in Chad in full view of the entire world are but a clear demonstration of those policies. Colonel Qaddafi's aggression against Chad also represents a real threat to the territorial integrity and national independence of other neighbouring African States. In the circumstances, the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic unreservedly condemn the invasion of Chad by the Qaddafi régime and call upon the régime to unconditionally withdraw its forces from the territory of Chad and to refrain in the future from its persistent interference in the internal affairs of that sister country.

"Finally, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic wishes to underline to the international community the dangerous situation which now obtains in Chad and its implications for the security and stability

of the African continent. It calls once again on the Organization of African Unity to shoulder its responsibility for safeguarding the unity and national independence of Chad.”*

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Benin has asked to exercise the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

25. Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): As everyone will recall, last Friday [2465th meeting] the representative of Mr. Hisssein Habré, my brother Barma, engaged in an exercise in very poor taste in this hall, and I expressed a desire to reply to him right away. Unfortunately the atmosphere in the chamber at the time did not make it possible for you, Mr. President, to allow me to do so. So I am pleased, Sir, that you have given me this opportunity today to reply.

26. Last Friday, the representative of Mr. Hisssein Habré used the most offensive language against my country and against me. We would have ignored the form and substance of his remarks had he not added to his gratuitous insults a baseless calumny and had he not engaged in personal attacks against the head of State of the People's Republic of Benin, our great comrade-in-arms, President Mathieu Kérékou.

27. In replying to him I shall not stoop to his level nor resort to bad faith and lies, which he uses so skilfully.

28. He said for example, “Colonel Kérékou . . . came to power and stays in power by force”.

29. The representative of Mr. Hisssein Habré is obviously unaware of what a democratic and popular revolution means, but that is not his fault. The profound aspirations of the people of Chad continue to be stifled and their only knowledge of political power is the caricature provided today by the new régime in N'Djamena. But I should like him to know once and for all that, following the revolution of 26 October 1972, President Mathieu Kérékou, today Brigadier-General, came to power. It was a democratic, popular revolution, which was intended to put an end to the policies of abdication and betrayal practised by the preceding régimes. It was a revolution whose objective was primarily the building of a new society where there would not be any exploitation of man by man and where the pursuit of happiness would be possible for everyone.

30. I should also like him to know that if our comrade-in-arms, President Mathieu Kérékou, is still in power it is because of the unanimously expressed will of all the people of Benin. In our country, Benin, democratic institutions do exist. I shall not dwell on all those institutions, but I should like to say that we have a Fundamental Law, a National Revolutionary Assembly, where all sectors of the population are represented and where they can freely express their views. One of the principal preroga-

tives of that Assembly is to elect the head of State of the People's Republic of Benin.

31. The representative of Mr. Hisssein Habré said, moreover, that President Kérékou has as a tutor the leader of the Libyan Revolution, Muammar Qaddafi. In that connection I should like to state the following.

32. First, since the revolution of 26 October 1972 the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Benin has been based on maintaining relations with all countries without exception, provided that those relations are based on the principles of non-alignment, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, mutual benefit and national dignity. Present relations between the People's Republic of Benin and Libya are precisely of that kind. The People's Republic of Benin has no need to blush at its friendships. It is happy and honoured to have fruitful relations with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya based on mutual respect and sovereignty.

33. Secondly, by launching the revolution of 26 October 1972, the people of Benin wished precisely to make a radical break with the past and to embark on a new policy of national independence, the basis and aim of which remain its interests and its identity. It intends to remain master of its fate, a fate it has freely chosen. The barbaric aggression of which my country, the People's Republic of Benin, was victim on 16 January 1977 was indeed a criminal attempt by international imperialism to thwart Benin's determination truly to fulfil its destiny. It is that very plot which is being hatched today against the Libyan revolution, a revolution which shares with my country the same ideals of peace and social justice and the same desire for independence. In the context of this plot, the confusion in Chad is a mere pretext. International imperialism is protecting its puppets and hurrying to the assistance of its lackeys.

34. Thirdly, the representative of Mr. Hisssein Habré, my brother Barma, attacked me personally and accused me of being a *maitre-chanteur*: an instrument of blackmail. I should like simply to inform him, since he seems not to know it, that I am first and foremost a representative of my country and that I receive and carry out with conviction the instructions of my superiors.

35. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm that the People's Republic of Benin remains convinced that a solution of the problem of Chad requires national reconciliation among all ideologies, without exception, under the auspices of the OAU and safe from bombardment by non-African Powers.

36. Ready for the revolution. The struggle continues.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to make his statement.

38. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I regret that I was unable to make a

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

statement of reply last Friday. Along with the representative of Benin, I was prevented from doing so while others were allowed that privilege.

39. The question has been raised here of difficulties with interpretation from Arabic into other languages. Arabic, as we understand, is an official language, and bilateral relations were invoked in the work of the Council.

40. Mr. President, we are aware that your country is a party to the conflict under discussion, and I should not like to have to invoke rule 20 of the provisional rules of procedure. We realize that, although it is intervening in Chad, France is a civilized country, a country which waged world-wide revolution against social injustice and the exploitation of man by man. We are all human, and, while we do not expect complete impartiality and justice, we certainly do expect what might be called reasonable justice.

41. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya wishes to assure members of the Council of its respect for the Council, for the Charter of the United Nations and for the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. It is thanks precisely to this institution that Libya was able to move towards independence. As a small country, Libya is keenly interested in the role played by the United Nations.

42. I can assure you, Sir, that we are fully prepared to co-operate with the Council in the search for a positive solution in keeping with the interests of the people of Chad and not with those of the tools of imperialism, a solution which will not lead to interference in my country and to the destabilization of its régime.

43. I reject out of hand all the lies and fallacious allegations made by the representative of Mr. Hissein Habré against my country. I should like simply to say that he and his patron are hired by American imperialism to spell such lies.

44. Some speakers have overlooked the true causes of the conflict in Chad. As the press attaché of the French mission said to a television station, the situation in Chad is a complex one whose roots go well into the past. Those roots still remain. Permit me to recall some of the underlying causes of the conflict in Chad: they include ideological, religious, tribal and other differences, personal interests, and the fact that Mr. Habré co-operates neither with the other entities in Chad nor with the legitimate Government. Nor does he co-operate with the OAU in the efforts it is making in this matter. Some speakers also overlooked the fact that French forces and United States military advisers are present there, along with troops from Zaïre and the Sudan.

45. There is another point that deserves some attention, that is, the position of the OAU. The OAU is very interested in the internal situation in Chad and has issued many statements, all of them calling for national reconciliation and non-interference by both Africans and

non-Africans. Contacts have been established by the OAU, and we very much hope that they will lead to a successful outcome.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Chad has asked to be allowed to speak, and I call on him.

47. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to make two brief comments. The first is to my brother Soglo, the representative of Benin. I wish to point out that my official title is "the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations", and that Mr. Hissein Habré is the President of the Republic of Chad—whether he likes it or not.

48. Secondly, he has given us an outline of the constitutional laws and institutions of his country. I shall not go into them since they are his country's internal affairs. What I maintain is that President Kérékou was brought to power by a *coup d'état*, as happens around the world.

49. The representative of Colonel Qaddafi considers me to be a representative of American imperialism. I should like to say that my country, Chad, maintains close relations of co-operation and friendship with the United States of which we are proud.

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Sudan has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

51. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have asked to be allowed to speak this morning as a result of the fallacious allegation made by my brother from Libya that Sudanese forces are in Chad. I should like to assure the Council that we in the Sudanese delegation have no knowledge of any Sudanese forces of any kind in Chad. And if they were there in response to an invitation from the legitimate Government of N'Djamena, what wrong would the Sudanese have committed and what would be contrary to international documents and instruments? That would be in response to an invitation from the Government of Chad to defend it.

52. The representative of Libya is trying to divert the Council's attention from its responsibilities. We invite him to co-operate with the Council and the international community as a whole. I can tell him that allegations and false accusations will serve no useful purpose. I ask him to work with the Council and help it meet its obligations and responsibilities.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.

NOTE

¹ A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.106 (XIX).

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